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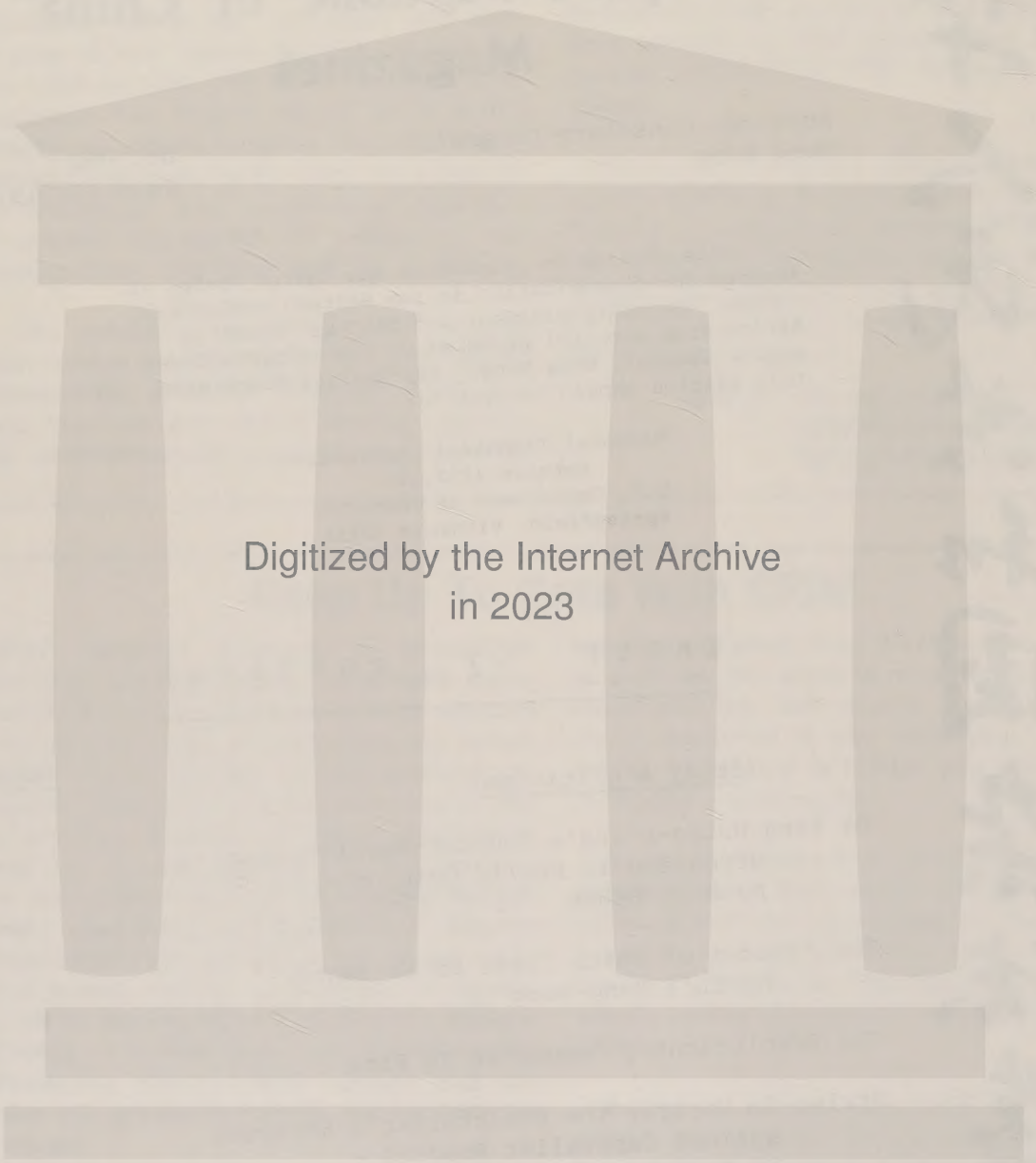

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On Teng Hsiao-p'ing's Counter-revolutionary Offensive in Public Opinion

by

Hung Hsüan (红宣)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 14, 1976)

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's verdict-reversing and restorationist activities began with an intensive drive to create counter-revolutionary public opinion.

People cannot help asking: Why is Teng Hsiao-p'ing, a big Party tyrant who does not read books or newspapers and who has no learning of any sort but relies on arbitrary judgment and influence to repress people, so keen on articles, reference material, journals, drama and films? We should try to find the answer to this question from the objective law of class struggle, instead of trying to understand it from personal interests and inclinations. Chairman Mao has penetratingly pointed out: "To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class." As the general representative of the counter-revolutionary class, Teng Hsiao-p'ing is bound to attach importance to the work in the ideological sphere, to prepare public opinion for their vain attempts to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In "fighting for the ideological position" with the proletariat, Teng Hsiao-p'ing took great pains to hatch his plans. Now let us take a look at the way he launched his counter-revolutionary public opinion offensive in a planned, premeditated and organized manner.

Once Teng resumed work, he did not wait long to rig up a group of public opinion makers. As early as January 6, 1975, he sent for that "theoretician" who was in former years highly trusted by Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters and the two chatted amicably about subjects ranging from international to domestic issues. Teng raised a host of questions and alleged that "these questions are what the broad masses at home and abroad urgently want to be systematically resolved." With due respect, Teng asked that "theoretician" to be his "adviser" and urged him to write a number of articles with the same vigor he displayed in former years. He also said, "In writing these articles, you have to look for help from more people, recruit more disciples, and organize a writing team." He then stated with a touch of secrecy, "What we have talked about today has not been discussed at the Party Central Committee and the State Council as this is just an informal exchange of views." By secretly engaging an "adviser," secretly rigging up a "group" and raising a host of questions that "call for systematic answers," could this be an "informal exchange of views"? There is a catch here. It is that without the knowledge of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, Teng tried to rig up a responsive group of public opinion makers that would sway public opinion in favor of the Right deviationist attempt

to reverse verdicts and stage a rival show to offset Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship personally led by Chairman Mao.

After Teng Hsiao-p'ing entrusted that "theoretician" to recruit followers, he could hardly wait for the making of ammunition for opening fire. Privately confiding to his men, he said: "Having struggled for seven to eight years, the enmity is implacable." He was thus rabidly fanning anti-communist, anti-popular and anti-revolutionary feelings. As was expected, in the first part of July, 1975 Teng instructed that "theoretician" to "gather materials related to the implementation of the all schools of contending and all kinds of flower blooming policy in the fields of culture, education, science and publishing." When he was directing this task, he viciously attacked the cultural and educational circles which had gone through the revolution in literature and art and the educational revolution for their "failure to carry out the double-all policy" -- to give vent to his deep grievances toward the great cultural revolution. Carrying colored magnifying glasses, Teng and his followers went everywhere to gather "problems," collate black materials and describe the excellent situation brought about by the great proletarian cultural revolution as dark and dreary. For a moment, the counter-revolutionary public opinion and the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts became so rampant as if without "saviors" like Teng Hsiao-p'ing attending to the situation the world would stop turning.

The counter-revolutionary offensive launched by Teng Hsiao-p'ing in public opinion spread far and wide. Applying to the fullest possible extent their counter-revolutionary political struggle experience, they dished out all sorts of revisionist absurd arguments, trumpeted reactionary ideas of every description, put forward deceptively counter-revolutionary slogans, and spread sensational political rumors. In the educational circles, they instigated some people to write letters containing false charges or schedule a series of lectures. In the literary and art circles, they concentrated their attacks on the revolutionary model stage productions, seized territory for feudal, capitalist and revisionist literature and art, and even staged a farce in which that "theoretician" played a part in inviting people to write letters and articles. In scientific and technological circles, they dished out the "outline of the summary report." On the industrial and communications front, they released the "20 Articles." Behind closed doors, they secretly worked out counter-revolutionary articles. In society at large, they fanned ill winds and fabricated and spread political rumors. With counter-revolutionary public opinion of every description following the keynote set by the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," a Right deviationist verdict-reversing big chorus was formed. Teng Hsiao-p'ing on August 6 openly declared that he himself was the "backstage boss," and so his followers declared everywhere they went: "What I have said is on authority!" Imagine how jubilant they all were at that time!

In a country of proletarian dictatorship such as ours, poisonous weeds must be criticized whenever they are found and counter-revolutionary public opinion should in no way be allowed to spread unchecked. Just when Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary offensive in public opinion was becoming more and more rampant, Chairman Mao on August 14 gave this important instruction on the criticism of Water Margin. Chairman Mao said pointedly: "The merit of the book Water Margin lies in its portraying capitulation. As a teaching material by negative example, it makes capitulationists known to all people." "Water Margin opposes only corrupt officials, but not the emperor. It excludes Ch'ao Kai from the 108 persons. Sung Chiang capitulates and practices revisionism. He changes Ch'ao's Chü-i T'ing into Chung-i T'ang and accepts the offer of amnesty and enlistment. Sung Chiang's struggle against Kao Ch'iu is the struggle between one faction and another within the landlord class. After Sung Chiang surrenders, he sets out to fight Fang La." Chairman Mao's instruction exposes the reactionary essence of capitulationists like Sung Chiang in practicing revisionism, providing people of the whole country with a powerful ideological weapon to recognize and criticize the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts which was then becoming rampant. Both the Jen-min Jih-pao and Hung-ch'i published editorials and short commentaries on Chairman Mao's important instruction and elucidated the vital immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance of criticizing Water Margin. Thereupon, on the basis of Chairman Mao's directive, the people of the whole country unfolded the mass movement to criticize Water Margin.

With a guilty conscience and becoming increasingly apprehensive, Teng Hsiao-p'ing feared that criticizing Water Margin would affect his Right deviationist verdict-reversing activities. He therefore went to battle to carry out rabid sabotage and obstructions --

One, to play down the important meaning of Chairman Mao's directive. Teng said: Making comments on Water Margin "has nothing to do with the realities of the current struggle inside the Party" and "plays no important role."

Two, to put out the fierce flames of the mass movement to criticize Water Margin. Teng said, "Some people are confused by what they have heard and think that something is happening. When it comes to criticizing Sung Chiang's capitulationism, some people take the view that a campaign is coming, but do not know where it comes from." He even viciously attacked the criticism of Water Margin and charged that some people tried to "make an issue" out of it and "hatch a plot."

Three, to keep the group blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts from falling into disarray. Teng said to people everywhere: "What are you afraid of? You are not Sung Chiang nor a capitulationist."

With their master's backing, Teng's followers began to spread gossip and hearsay.

Some people said: "All you have to do is to go back and transmit" Chairman Mao's instruction on criticism of Water Margin. Basically they didn't take it seriously.

Some said: "The Jen-min Jih-pao editorial on Water Margin has not been discussed by the Central Committee." They dismissed it as false.

Some said: "Don't listen to Hung-ch'i."

Among Teng's followers, that "theoretician" appeared quite sensitive as he acted on the instinct of protecting his master. He was particularly mindful of comments on Water Margin. He spent a great deal of time scanning and poring over press articles having anything to do with Water Margin, and he made copious excerpts from them so he could find the direction of the trend. On one occasion, that "theoretician" selectively copied down some parts of press comments on Sung Chiang's attempt to cheat Ch'ao Kai and passed them on to Teng. The "theoretician" said: "This is clearly an oblique reference to you, and I won't be wrong saying so." Teng tried to keep calm and said, "It isn't," but he was visibly upset when reading these materials.

Why did that "theoretician" go out of his way to gather data on "Sung Chiang's attempt to cheat Ch'ao Kai"? This is because Chairman Mao's criticism of Water Margin's "excluding Ch'ao Kai from the 108 persons" lays stress on the importance of leadership power and on the danger of altering the correct line by capitulationists operating inside the revolutionary ranks. To usurp the leadership of the Liangshan revolutionary cause, Sung Chiang tries every means to cheat Ch'ao Kai, even going so far as to employ the vicious means of "purifying the emperor's entourage" to exclude and hit hard at those revolutionary generals who are determined to carry out Ch'ao Kai's correct line. In criticizing the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Since Prince Liu Pi of Wu in the Han Dynasty invented the well-known tactic of purifying the emperor's ranks to press home his request for the execution of Ch'ao Ts'o (the principal strategist of Emperor Ching of Han), quite a few careerists have regarded it as treasure." Sung Chiang was one and so is Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Teng's rumor-mongering mill fabricated counter-revolutionary political rumors to mislead the public and provoke splits, aiming the spearhead directly at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. They did not hesitate to employ such despicable means as framing charges and shifting the blame onto others, vainly trying to trap those comrades who are determined to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. The vast masses of revolutionary people exposed Sung Chiang's counter-revolutionary tactic of cheating Ch'ao Kai and this was unfavorable to people like Teng Hsiao-p'ing who were then vigorously whipping up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. This could not but arouse the concern of that "theoretician."

When the "theoretician" told Teng about the "oblique reference" implied in "Sung Chiang's attempt to cheat Ch'ao Kai," the latter said, "It isn't." Here, the master and the servant are in obvious plight. Is it an "oblique reference" or "insinuation"? No, it isn't. The proletariat has never found it necessary to conceal its own viewpoint and always carries out political struggles open and aboveboard. We expose the ancient capitulationists by criticizing Water Margin, and we do so for the purpose of summing up the laws and experience of class and line struggles so we can deal with modern capitalist roaders in a better way. In this sense, criticizing Water Margin serves the purpose of ideologically preparing us for repulsing the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. In mentioning "oblique reference," that "theoretician" unwittingly betrayed the weaknesses of Teng and his ilk as well as their fears. When Lu Hsün published his well-known novel The Story of Ah Q, it will be recalled, it caused a storm of some sort among the gentlemen and ladies and other prominent people in society. They were apprehensive lest their "private affairs" might be exposed by Lu Hsün. As a matter of fact, Lu Hsün merely touched some people where it hurt through his artistic summation of types and he was not making any "oblique reference" at all. The fact which worried these gentlemen and ladies is that they did have "secrets" they would like to keep away from others. When that "theoretician" gingerly told Teng about the "oblique reference," he and his master were indeed worried lest their "secrets" would have been brought out by others. What is noteworthy is that when Teng was serving as Secretary of the Southwest Bureau in the early period of liberation, he re-enacted the farce of "Sung Chiang assumes the reins of the mountain stronghold." He conferred "titles" on his lieutenants after the fashion of the "Liangshanpo heroes" such as "Leopard's Head Lin Ch'ung," "Big Sword Kuan Sheng," "Black Whirlwind Li K'uei" and "Thunderer Ch'in Ming," with himself assuming the title of "Welcome Rain Sung Chiang." As a matter of fact, Teng followed Liu Shao-ch'i since liberation in pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and after he went back to work, he continued to practice revisionism and capitulationism and indeed is the modern Sung Chiang. Therefore, when the people of the whole country commented on Water Margin and repudiated Sung Chiang in line with Chairman Mao's directive, Teng could not but feel apprehensive. That is why the "theoretician" could not help denouncing the revolutionary people's criticism as an "insinuation."

Revolutionary public opinion based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is powerful and full of strength. The movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and to comment on Water Margin, with the people of the whole country participating, crushed every resistance and kept deepening. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, irreconciled to defeat, continued to hit back at revolutionary public opinion with counter-revolutionary public opinion.

When Teng's rumor-mongering mill, which had ground out counter-revolutionary political rumors, met setbacks everywhere, he turned around and hit back. With ulterior motives, he said: Political rumors in society

"are mainly brought about by press articles commenting on Water Margin." He vainly tried to use this remark to kill two birds with one stone, on the one hand viciously attacking Chairman Mao's important instruction on making comments on Water Margin and the mass movement launched by the revolutionary people to comment on the novel and, on the other, shifting the target of tracking down counter-revolutionary rumors so as to protect Teng's rumor-mongering mill.

It was precisely at this juncture that Teng Hsiao-p'ing conspired to release two major articles that could well serve as "punches." One was "On the General Program of All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation," which theoretically and systematically elucidated "taking the three directives as the key link," negated taking class struggle as the key link and the Party's basic theory and basic practice, and viciously attacked those comrades who adhered to and implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as "anti-Marxist class enemies." The other article concerns the criticism of Water Margin. The first article was drafted by the writing team formed by that "theoretician" while the second article was written by the "theoretician" himself. Remarked that "theoretician": "The reason why I want to write the article commenting on Water Margin is to express my disagreement with the view that there are capitulationists and Sung Chiangs inside the Party. Some articles speak of Sung Chiang having cheated Ch'ao Kai as an allusion to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, but I don't agree with this view." Because that "theoretician" did everything possible to make his loyalty clear to his master, Teng was very pleased with the report made by the "theoretician." He encouraged the latter, saying: "If you write it well, send me a copy, and it may be published in the Jen-min Jih-pao." Pleased with the compliment, that "theoretician" wrote two drafts in succession.

"Fighting a battle calls for a battle position." This counter-revolutionary experience was once summed up by the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique. As one in command of the bourgeoisie, old and new, both inside and outside the Party, Teng Hsiao-p'ing is well versed with this subtle approach. More than once he urged that "theoretician" to "put out a comprehensive periodical" and insisted that "it be run well."

Putting out a periodical was an important decision taken by Teng Hsiao-p'ing after careful deliberations. He complained about the "paucity of periodicals" after hearing a report given last September by that capitalist roader in the Academy of Sciences, and repeatedly stressed the "major importance" of putting out periodicals. Teng's concern about putting out periodicals was deep-rooted. Once he told his followers: Count "how many periodicals you people had in the past and how many have you got now?" Teng's remark revealed something within him that must have bothered him. The "past" of course refers to the period prior to the great cultural revolution, a period in which Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing controlled the ideological and cultural departments. It was a time when capitalism and revisionism spread unchecked and the press and periodicals were filled with the images of monsters and demons. During the great cultural revolution, Party persons in power

taking the capitalist road were purged. Along with the exposure of so-called "academic authorities" -- persons under the wing of the capitalist roaders in the Party and opposed to the Party and socialism -- and the criticism of the reactionary bourgeois ideology that had pervaded the academic, educational, journalistic, literary and art, and publishing circles, leadership in these cultural spheres was captured. This dealt a crushing blow to the sphere of public opinion through which the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party had practiced restoration of capitalism. Would Teng Hsiao-p'ing take defeat lying down? No. He must settle the old scores. His reference to the "paucity of periodicals" at present serves as a counter-revolutionary mobilization order to "seize the ideological front."

After making intensive planning, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his ilk were ready to flaunt their own ensign in the ideological sphere. On October 6 last year, that "theoretician" openly announced Teng's decision to put out a major national periodical. Why? Because, they admitted frankly, "Chairman Mao's directives have not been reflected in (existing) publications." How sensational! Those in the know readily perceived that this poisoned arrow was aimed at the vilification of proletarian revolutionaries. In saying that "Chairman Mao's directives have not been reflected in publications," this did occur in the past, that is, during the period prior to the great cultural revolution, when publications were under the control of Liu, Teng and company. How sinister the motives of Teng and his ilk were in spreading rumors and alleging that "Chairman Mao's directives have not been reflected in publications" so they could deviate from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and stage a rival show against Hung-ch'i! In stating the purpose of putting out a major periodical, that "theoretician" said it would "represent the Party line," adding that the proposed publication would be devoted to discussing "questions arising from practical life and issues that the whole country feels should be resolved, not abstract questions of theory." These remarks, couched in vague terms, implied that the publication would represent Teng's revisionist line, promote the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," and serve as the mouthpiece of the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. Teng in fact wanted his followers to put out the periodical and tackle it as "a matter of prime importance" and the "theoretician" at once expressed his readiness to go ahead with this "task of first-class importance." This shows how high the hopes Teng and his ilk placed on this publication!

The struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao, proclaimed the political bankruptcy of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party. Finding that the situation was unfavorable, Teng was forced to retreat. Last November he told that "theoretician" not to send him the article the latter wrote on Water Margin when it was ready. A few days later, he sent for that "theoretician" and several capitalist roaders in the scientific, technological and educational circles and said to them: "Like me, you have

been out of work since the great cultural revolution and are unfamiliar with the existing situation." Several days later, he told his followers: "Only the way 'take the three directives as the key link' is put forward is not appropriate." All this was intended to cover up his towering crime in reversing verdicts and seeking restoration. On the other hand, Teng twisted the nature of the struggle in order to shift the general orientation of struggle and continued to resist stubbornly with counter-revolutionary public opinion. Last spring when the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts was deepening and advancing in the wake of victory, Teng's rumor-mongering mill again dumped a quantity of political rumors on the market. They rabidly forged what they called "Chairman Mao's directives," "central documents," "the Premier's will" and "speeches by central leaders." These political rumors were unprecedented for their reactionary substance, vicious language, fantastic implications, mean tricks and wide circulation. By early April the counter-revolutionary incident at Tienanmen Square was provoked by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, culminating in the pasting up of reactionary poems by a handful of class enemies, distribution of reactionary leaflets, making reactionary speeches and shouting of reactionary slogans, and reaching the height of using counter-revolutionary public opinion to coordinate with the counter-revolutionary political struggle!

With the bankruptcy of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line came the bankruptcy of his counter-revolutionary public opinion offensive. However, the black remarks attributed to Teng's followers are quite thought-provoking. They said, "If we are in control of the country's radio stations, the press and publications, we could turn the tide in only half a year's time." Although this was their wishful thinking, it shows that the sinister objective of creating counter-revolutionary public opinion in a big way by Teng and his ilk was to overthrow the power of the proletariat.

The period from resuming his work to his collapse was not long, but throughout the course of stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts Teng Hsiao-p'ing attached great importance to creating counter-revolutionary public opinion. People would profit in no small measure by tracing the circumstances surrounding Teng's counter-revolutionary public opinion offensive. It makes us understand that in our struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party we must not overlook the struggle on the ideological and cultural front and in the sphere of public opinion. If this sphere is not occupied by the proletariat, it will certainly be seized by the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party. Following the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin said: "Our task is to break all resistance from the capitalists, not only military and political but also the most intensive and stubborn ideological resistance." ("Speech at an All-Russia Conference on the Work of Political Education Committees of Provincial and County National Education Bureaus") Throughout the historical period of socialism, we should pay attention and try to overcome "the most intensive and stubborn ideological resistance" put up by the bourgeoisie.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary public opinion offensive represents the most intensive and strongest ideological resistance of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party against the proletariat. Teng's collapse does not mean the end of this resistance. Therefore, we must foster the idea of fighting protracted battles and carry the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines on the ideological and cultural front to its completion.

* * *

The Freedom of Which Class Do We Want?

-- also on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's world outlook

by

Ch'i Yung-hung (齐永红)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 14, 1976)

Chairman Mao recently put forth the wise assertion that the bourgeoisie is "in the Communist Party." This is a major development of Marxism-Leninism. Many among capitalist roaders in the Party have evolved from bourgeois democrats. Analyzing the process of evolution from a bourgeois democrat to a capitalist roader will help us see clearly the natural connection between bourgeois democracy and revisionism.

The road taken by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is one leading from a bourgeois democrat to a capitalist roader inside the Party. He joined the revolution during the initial period of China's new democratic revolution, but because he cherished the bourgeois democratic thought, he was basically reluctant to accept the Party's supreme program, that is, the program of realizing the socialist and communist systems. Chairman Mao pointed out in January 1940: The new democratic revolution "is no longer a revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under bourgeois dictatorship. It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim, in the first stage, of establishing a new-democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes. Thus this revolution actually serves the purpose of clearing a still wider path for the development of socialism." ("On New Democracy") One year later, Teng Hsiao-p'ing publicly declared: "After defeating the Japanese bandits, we will still have to unite with the forces of all nationalities, all parties and all classes to build China into a new democratic republic enjoying real independence, freedom and happiness, the three people's principles." As one can see, in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's program, first, "proletarian leadership" stressed by Chairman Mao vanished; second, the phrase "in the first stage" was removed; third, the word "revolutionary" was deleted from "the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes." It can be seen that Teng Hsiao-p'ing's ultimate ideal is to set up a bourgeois republic. "Real independence, freedom and happiness" he referred to can only be what Lenin pointed out: "'Freedom' in a bourgeois democratic republic is actually freedom of the rich." ("The Third International and Its Role in History")

"Freedom" has been a slogan chanted by the bourgeoisie for several centuries. As the last exploiting class in human history, the bourgeoisie was nourished in the womb of the feudal society. But, once it was born into the world, capitalism urgently wanted to shatter the fetters of the feudal relations of production and to establish capitalist relations of production which guarantee bourgeois freedom in hiring labor, in trade and in practicing

exploitation. The bourgeoisie challenged feudal privileges with the slogan "give us freedom or death." Although this slogan at that time had progressive meaning in opposing feudalism, it was after all a hypocritical slogan protecting the private interests of the bourgeoisie. Their so-called "freedom" was nothing more than freedom to exploit hired labor and to carry out exchange of commodities. As Lenin pointed out, Marx devoted a greater part of his time, a greater part of his works and a greater part of his scientific research to deriding "freedom and equality" and "proving that these phrases cover up the freedom of commodity owners and of capital in oppressing the laboring masses." ("On the Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality") Such is the class essence of "freedom" demanded by the bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois democrats are products of capitalist economy. This political faction has never stopped talking about "freedom." Exposing the political stand of bourgeois democrats, Lenin said wrathfully: "He who talks about general 'freedom' and opposes proletarian dictatorship because of this freedom helps and supports the exploiters." (Ibid.) Teng Hsiao-p'ing is one of these people Lenin wrathfully denounced. During the democratic revolution period, he followed P'eng Te-huai in singing the hackneyed tune of "freedom, equality and fraternity," and he was a bourgeois democrat. Under the historical condition of proletarian dictatorship, Teng Hsiao-p'ing again shouted the slogan of bourgeois "freedom" and took advantage of the power in his hands to try to build "a new democratic republic with independence, freedom and happiness, the three people's principles," a goal he cherished even in his dreams. Inevitably, he had to part company with the proletariat and the broad masses of the revolutionary people and become a political agent of the bourgeoisie within the Party, a power holder taking the capitalist road within the Party.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing has been standing still since the socialist revolution period set in, and this is because when he "accepted the slogans of revolutionary democracy of the proletarian political party, he did not link these slogans with the entire struggle of the socialist proletariat." (Lenin, "Enlarged Meeting of the Editorial Department of the Proletarian News") Soon after nationwide liberation, Teng Hsiao-p'ing followed Liu Shao-ch'i in trumpeting the bourgeois program of "consolidating the new democratic order," putting forth the slogan "insuring private ownership of property" and demanding enforcement of "four big freedoms" in buying and selling land, hiring labor and practicing exploitation, borrowing and lending money and in trade. "Consolidating the new democratic order" meant protecting the interests of the bourgeoisie and developing capitalism in cities and the countryside. "Four big freedoms" meant basically forbidding alteration of the system of private ownership, making all-out efforts to protect the capitalist relations of production and basically forbidding labor to shake off the oppression of capital. Hitting the nail on the head, Chairman Mao pointed out: "With the success of the democratic revolution, some people still remain where they were. They do not understand that the nature of the revolution has changed. They still continue to practice their 'new democracy,' instead of going in for socialist transformation. They will make Rightist mistakes." (Quoted from Jen-min Jih-pao, November 23, 1967) This instruction of Chairman Mao's

summed up the fresh experience of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines during the initial period after the founding of new China and revealed the process of evolution from bourgeois democracy to revisionism. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's theory and practice in promoting "four big freedoms" showed profoundly that if bourgeois democrats did not forsake their original world outlook when the nature of the revolution had changed, they would inevitably go in for Right opportunism and revisionism during the period of socialism. With the socialist revolution developing in depth, they will "show more and more clearly the real nature of bourgeois democrats: they represent the interests of the property-owning class and their defense of the cause of freedom is half-baked and selfish." (Lenin, "The Proletariat Is Waging Struggle, the Bourgeoisie Is Usurping Political Power") Teng Hsiao-p'ing collaborated with Liu Shao-ch'i in slashing some 200,000 cooperatives in 1955, and later many times attacked the people's commune movement for "going too fast." He didn't forget that san-tzu i-pao (free market, private plots, sole responsibility for profits and losses, and fixing of quotas based on the household). He clamored for "restoring that kind of system which prevailed before 1953." This series of ugly performances further laid bare his demand for freedom to develop capitalism.

The firm march of the socialist revolution shattered Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fond dream of freedom. But he refused to give up hopes and would stage a comeback once there was an opportunity. This is a stubborn political expression of the bourgeois world outlook. When China was in the difficult period caused by three consecutive years of natural calamities, Teng Hsiao-p'ing again came forward to trumpet the fallacy of bourgeois liberalization. He said in 1961: "The main problem now is to produce more grain. If production can go up, individual farming may also be allowed. No matter whether a cat is white or black, it is a good cat when it catches mice." By this cat theory, he didn't care to make any distinction between public ownership and private ownership, between socialism and capitalism, and between Marxism-Leninism and imperialism. What he said in July 1962 was a superb annotation on his "white cat, black cat" theory. He said: "It seems to me that, as regards the form of relations of production, we should take this attitude: Any form may be adopted in a locality if it makes it easier to restore and develop production." That in plain truth is to encourage capitalist free competition. Under the guise of increasing grain production, he called for individual farming in order to vigorously foster small commodity production and develop polarization under the condition where individual peasants had in the main shaken off their economic status as small commodity producers. The development of this polarization would generate the demand for freedom to buy and sell grain, freedom for speculation and freedom for a few people to get rich. Lenin said in 1921: "Freedom of turnover is freedom of trade, and freedom of trade means reversion to capitalism." ("Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (B)") It can be seen that free competition as advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing meant promotion of bourgeois liberalization in socialist China. This was utterly reactionary.

Reflected in the sphere of the relations of distribution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's theory of "freedom" meant vigorously protecting the ruling position of bourgeois rights and substituting the capitalist principle of exchange of

commodities for the Party's political and organizational principles. Some bourgeois democrats joined the Party, bringing with them "a pack of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas," and after doing some work in the democratic revolution, they thought they had accumulated some capital. When the opportunity presented itself, they would bargain with the Party. After resuming his work, Teng Hsiao-p'ing said openly: "Old cadres have put in hard work if they won no merit. If they have not put in hard work, they have tired themselves out." He seemed to say that it was unreasonable for the proletariat not to give them rich rewards according to their work (including merit, hard work and fatigue). What "reasoning" is this? Even experience carries a price tag and joining the Party and doing some work for the revolution is regarded as the vehicle to upgrade oneself as a commodity. What a skilful application of the capitalist principle of exchange of commodities. Marx said in Capital: In capitalist society, "things which are not commodities such as conscience and reputation may also be used by their owners to exchange for money. Through their prices, they assume the form of commodity." In Teng Hsiao-p'ing's eyes, it is something sacred to convert merit, hard work and fatigue into a form of commodity through the channel of exchange of commodities and sell them to the Party and the people at high prices. In truth, he participated in the democratic revolution not for the emancipation of the workers and peasants but for turning himself into an expensive commodity to secure special privileges from the Party. This type of bourgeois democrats, as Marx and Engels said, "basically are unwilling to transform the whole of society in the interests of revolutionary proletarians; they demand a change in the social system for the purpose of making the existing society as satisfactory and comfortable to them as possible." ("Letter from the Central Committee to the League of Communists") To make the revisionist "high officials" like him "satisfied and comfortable," Teng Hsiao-p'ing sought to develop the capitalist freedom of exchange of commodities in the Communist Party and demanded freedom to expand bourgeois rights, thereby thoroughly exposing his wolfish ambition of a capitalist roader inside the Party to transform the Party according the bourgeois world outlook.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's theory of "four big freedoms," theory of "white cat, black cat" and theory of "merit, hard work and fatigue" stemmed from his bourgeois democratic world outlook and from that bourgeois kingdom in the depth of his soul. While he is in the Communist Party, his heart is with the new and old bourgeoisie in society. This explains why he must push a revisionist line to protect the bourgeoisie and capitalism. Such is the natural course through which Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who persisted in the bourgeois democratic world outlook, has slipped toward revisionism. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin summed up the experience of the two-line struggle within the Party from the height of world outlook and made these incisive remarks: "Juggling with the general terms of freedom, equality and democracy actually means blindly reciting those concepts reflecting the relations of commodity production. Applying these general terms to solve the concrete tasks of the proletarian dictatorship is tantamount to entirely shifting to the bourgeois theory, principle and stand." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat") Teng Hsiao-p'ing is such a

revisionist clinging to the bourgeois theory and principle. He joined the revolution with the bourgeois democratic world outlook, and yet he refused to transform his world outlook in revolutionary practice. Consequently, he repeatedly committed opportunist mistakes during the period of democratic revolution and insistently pushed a revisionist line during the period of the socialist revolution.

Revisionism is an international phenomenon. Since Teng Hsiao-p'ing clung to the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and vigorously stirred up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, he was naturally applauded by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Didn't the Soviet revisionist renegade ruling clique praise him as "a true patriot"? Didn't they extol Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the like for "advancing toward real freedom and happiness under socialist conditions"? How kind-hearted Soviet revisionist social-imperialism was when it worried about lack of "freedom" in China! History is the best witness. When the Soviet Union established the dictatorship of the proletariat after the victory of the October Revolution, the international bourgeoisie bitterly deplored the loss of freedom on the vast land of Russia. Lenin then pointed out angrily: In Western European countries "every book says that their system is the most liberal system. Now, these civilized countries of Western Europe such as France and Britain and the United States hoist this banner and oppose the Bolshevik 'for freedom's sake'." ("On the Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality") Today, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism opposes the Chinese Communist Party "for freedom's sake." Is there any difference between it and the international bourgeoisie which "oppose the Bolshevik 'for freedom's sake'" in bygone years?

At home, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's so-called "freedom" won the applause of the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists and the new and old bourgeoisie in society. Didn't the handful of class enemies who perpetrated the counter-revolutionary incident at Tienanmen Square viciously attack socialist China as "the feudal society of Ch'in Shih Huang"? This shows how they suffered from lack of freedom in the past two decades and more! Didn't they wildly clamor for "letting Teng Hsiao-p'ing preside over the work of the Central Committee" and appointing him as "Premier"? It shows how they eagerly wished Teng Hsiao-p'ing success in restoration so they could gain freedom again! However, freedom does not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete in the world. "In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Therefore, our country of proletarian dictatorship will absolutely not allow any class enemy freedom to oppose communism, the people and revolution.

China is now in an important period of historical development. The struggle waged by the proletariat and the masses of people against the bourgeoisie within the Party is a great struggle differing from those of the past in many respects. In carrying out this struggle, we should firmly bear in mind Lenin's teaching: "Wiping out capitalism and its vestiges and enforcing the principle of the communist system constitute the content of a new

era of world history which has already begun. The slogan of this era must and should be this: abolish all classes, exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat to achieve this end, ruthlessly expose the prejudices of the petty-bourgeois democrats about freedom and equality, and launch a ruthless struggle against these prejudices." ("On the Intra-Party Struggle of the Italian Socialist Party) Teng Hsiao-p'ing's downfall is a telling blow to the bourgeoisie he represents. However, the struggle between the two classes, two lines and two world outlooks will still go on for a long time. We must, through studying Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and by taking an active part in the practice of penetratingly criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing, solidly establish the dialectical-materialist and historical-materialist world outlook, continue to heighten our consciousness in practicing Marxism, forever be sober-headed, conscious fighters for the proletarian revolution, and press ahead along the road of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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The Revolutionary Committee Is Fine

- Investigation report on Liangkung Valve Plant, Shanghai

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 6, June 14, 1976)

The "three-in-one" revolutionary committee is a product of the struggle waged by the hundreds of millions of the masses to seize power from the handful of capitalist roaders during the great proletarian cultural revolution. Chairman Mao praises it as a creation of the working class and the masses of people in the current cultural revolution. With the cultural revolution deepening, the revolutionary committee as a newborn thing has demonstrated more and more its vigor and vitality.

The revolutionary committee of Liangkung Valve Plant, Shanghai, was established in May 1967. For the past nine years, under the Party's centralized leadership, it has been leading the more than 800 workers in the plant to engage in serious study of Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, criticize the revisionist line in depth and adhere to the socialist orientation by firmly taking class struggle as the key link and keeping to the Party's basic line. The result has been the gradual formation throughout the plant of a lively political situation characterized by both centralization and democracy. The revolution has given a tremendous impetus to the development of production and construction. In 1975, as compared with 1965, the output of this plant which specializes mainly in the production of high and medium pressure valves, rose by 2.78 times, with gross output value growing by 2.49 times, profits delivered to the state 2.25 times, labor productivity 1.46 times, and product varieties increasing from 40 to more than 250. In terms of its productive capacity, the plant has grown four and a half times in size what it was before the cultural revolution. As practice proves, the establishment in the course of struggle of a revolutionary committee which is revolutionary, representative in character and vested with proletarian authority has exerted vitally positive effects on the development of both socialist revolution and socialist construction. This is also a forceful criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary acts of blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and sabotaging and strangling the revolutionary committee.

An Important Organizational Guarantee for Workers To Become Masters

Chairman Mao points out: "It seems that it won't do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution, for our foundation is not solid. Judging from my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories -- I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority of them -- leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers." This assertion of Chairman Mao's is entirely correct. Prior to the cultural revolution, the foundation of Liangkung Valve Plant was also not solid, and under the serious interference and influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, the leadership promoted the "one-chief system," "management of factory by experts," "material incentives" and "putting profit in command," thereby

causing the enterprise to depart from the socialist orientation. Then came the great cultural revolution. The workers bravely rose up to criticize the revisionist line and set up a revolutionary committee. Direct participation by worker representatives in the organs of power is an important organizational guarantee for the working class to grasp the leadership of factories and enterprises, consolidate the socialist economic base and fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat down to the grassroots level. The problem of impurity gravely affected the leading group of the plant before the cultural revolution. Among the manager and four deputy managers, one was a capitalist and another was a capitalist agent. Among the 16 directors and deputy directors of sections, seven were capitalists, capitalist agents of bad elements. Today, among the 29 members of the plant's revolutionary committee, with the exception of five who are veteran cadres, 24 are worker representatives, accounting for 83 percent of the total. Among these worker representatives, six are women, 12 are representatives of non-Party mass bodies, and nine remain at their production jobs. Among the chairman and four vice-chairmen, three are worker representatives. Participation in the organ of power -- the revolutionary committee -- by a large group of outstanding workers at the production frontline has politically and organizationally consolidated the leadership of the working class over the enterprise. The worker comrades say happily: "The revolutionary committee is good because we the workers join it and the workers are masters. People change their thinking and the factory changes its outlook."

Coming directly from the first line of production, the worker representatives know the demands and aspirations of the masses the best. Since they joined the revolutionary committee, they have frequently reflected the opinions of the masses and adhered to the line, making it possible for leading groups at all levels of the plant to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line with still better results. Before the cultural revolution, although most of the members of the leading groups were good people, nevertheless they followed Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line and, instead of wholeheartedly relying on the working class and seeing the wisdom and strength of the worker masses, resorted at random to "control, check and repression." The result was that a state of sharp opposition existed between leaders and masses. Now that worker representatives have participated in leading work and exercised direct revolutionary supervision over the leading groups of the plant at various levels, the enterprise has continued to advance along the socialist orientation. At one time, signs of disunity appeared in several shifts in a workshop, and both work and production were affected. At first, some cadres thought that this was largely because the system was not strict and management was too loose; therefore, they called for tightening the rules and regulations. Later, this problem was raised at a meeting of the plant's revolutionary committee, and a violent debate ensued. Some agreed with this suggestion, but most did not think so and pointed out incisively that on the surface this was a problem of labor discipline but actually it was a problem of class struggle and that the outlook of the plant could be changed only by firmly taking class struggle as the key link and adhering to the Party's basic line with the main issue leading the secondary issues. Investigation

and meticulous ideo-political work enabled the revolutionary committee to discover that there were indeed bad people who made trouble. Thereupon, it mobilized the masses and ferreted out a counter-revolutionary element who viciously attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through this incident, it profoundly educated the cadres and masses and united the vast majority. As a result, the outlook of the entire workshop changed considerably, the socialist enthusiasm of cadres and the masses was brought into full play, and output rose quickly.

The revolutionary committee of the plant has persevered in arousing the worker masses to penetratingly criticize the revisionist line and such revisionist fallacies as "the theory of the dying out of class struggle" and "theory of productive forces," enabling the cadres and masses to raise their ability to distinguish between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism and revisionism, increase their consciousness of carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and adjust the socialist orientation of the enterprise. In the past, the principal components required for the production of valves were made by sand molding. The molds were large like crabs. For an annual production of three thousand tons of valves, there was more than a thousand tons of iron dust left over from mechanical processing and cutting. The worker comrades said: "You can see the real body of the valve only after peeling off three layers of skin. Our sweat flows to the iron dust." They had long ago wanted to change this backward method of production. Following intensive discussion and study by the masses, the plant revolutionary committee decided to introduce the new technology of precise casting. But on the question of how to achieve the technical innovation, there was a struggle between the two lines and two kinds of ideas within the revolutionary committee. At first some leading cadres were in favor of waiting for equipment to be allocated by the higher-ups and for the arrival of technicians from fraternal units to wage a joint battle. As a result, a lot of time was spent in waiting, and the application of the new technology was delayed. Later, the cadres of the revolutionary committee went to the lower level to solicit opinions of the masses. The workers pointed out sharply: "Socialism cannot be built by waiting; it must be built through hard work. We must rely on our own efforts, use indigenous methods and complete the transformation of valves." The revolutionary committee humbly accepted the opinions of the workers, changed the policy from "waiting" to "work" and from relying on others to relying on oneself. It mobilized the masses to grasp the nettle and boldly engage in practice, repeated experiments, unceasingly summing up experiences. In only half a year's time the new technology was successfully applied. This incident showed vividly that when the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were criticized, it didn't mean that the influence of these lines had been eliminated. The worker comrades said rightly: "We must see that the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road and the pernicious influence of revisionism is still spreading." Only by making revolutionary mass criticism and adhering to the correct line was it possible to assure proletarian leadership over a socialist enterprise.

An Effective Form of Worker Participation in Enterprise Management

Since the establishment of the plant revolutionary committee and with direct participation in management by worker representatives, the mutual relations between people in the enterprise, and particularly between cadres and masses, have been markedly improved, restricting in this respect bourgeois rights and consolidating the socialist economic base.

In pre-cultural revolution days, influenced by the revisionist stuff such as management of factory by experts and primacy of technology, the plant relied only on a few persons in enterprise management. Major problems were always decided by the factory manager and experts, and the worker had no right at all to ask any questions. The masses said angrily: "In the past a manager was a manager and a worker was a worker. The line was clearly drawn. We had no say in management." After the plant's revolutionary committee was set up during the cultural revolution and with direct participation in management by worker representatives, things have changed. The revolutionary committee has followed the principle of two-participations, one-reform and three-in-one combination set forth by Chairman Mao in the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." Over the years it has created a great deal of experience concerning workers' participation in management. Major problems which affect the factory as a whole are handed over to the masses for repeated deliberations and their opinions are solicited before the revolutionary committee takes a decision. The revolutionary committee holds enlarged meetings periodically and invites the workers to attend them. At these meetings it examines work reports and sums up relevant experiences. If often organizes the masses to use the "four big" weapons to expose and resolve contradictions, find out the differences between the advanced and the backward, encourage the backward to learn from the advanced, and help the leadership to adjust its line and improve its work. It organizes workers' investigation teams to look into the conditions of implementation of the Party's line and policies by the plant's revolutionary committee and other administrative organs and to make recommendations for work improvement, etc. Facts confirm that only by relying on the workers' participation in management and by giving the worker representatives full authority to speak on major problems will it be possible to guarantee the masters' status of the workers in the socialist enterprise and to make our factory advance along the correct path pointed out by Chairman Mao. Early last year, comrades of the valve rod group of workshop No. 4, in the course of studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, further aroused their socialist enthusiasm and proposed to fulfill their tasks for the whole year four months ahead of schedule. At that time, some leaders did not see the essence of the revolutionary spirit of the valve rod group's workers in studying theory and playing the masters' role, and one-sidedly publicized their slogan "ahead of schedule." As a result, study was relaxed and a wrong direction was followed. Efforts were made only to fulfill the production quota, and departmentalism was bred. Seeing this, the valve rod workers put up a big character poster under the heading "We are not slaves of valve rods, we are masters of the factory." They pointed out straightforwardly: to

talk about only "pre-scheduled fulfillment" of production quota and not the study of theory is actually an expression of the "theory of productive forces." The plant revolutionary committee ardently supported the valve rod group's big-character poster and held an informal meeting in the group to seriously solicit criticisms and suggestions. At the same time, citing this incident, it called a number of enlarged meetings of the plant's revolutionary committee for the purpose of further arousing the worker masses to expose problems existing in enterprise management. This quickly stirred up an upsurge of the mass movement to study theory, to become masters, to grasp the line and to work in a big way.

In the course of relying on the masses to manage the enterprise, this plant's revolutionary committee has persistently and correctly handled the relationship between cadres and the masses in accordance with socialist principles. Before the cultural revolution, many cadres in the plant, thinking they were wiser than the workers, did not treat the latter with equality. Being very pompous, they often rebuked the masses, deducted their bonuses or transferred them to other jobs at will. As a result, the relations between cadres and masses became very strained and the enthusiasm of the latter was gravely dampened. Today, the cadres on the plant's revolutionary committee, behaving no different from ordinary laborers, engage in work, study and mass criticism with workers. They work in the three shifts and in every group. The masses warm to the cadres. The cadres are ever ready to hear the opinions and suggestions of the masses at any time and place; they are able to discover and correct quickly any shortcomings and mistakes. A new type of relationship has been gradually formed between cadres and masses. The coating group of workshop No. 3 did not fare very well in revolution and production for a time. It was disunited and failed to hit the production target. A member of the plant's revolutionary committee who was responsible for the work of this workshop then went to the group to organize each of them to study. Carrying out penetrating and meticulous ideological work among them, he talked to each of them. He asked the Party members among them to set themselves as example, to encourage and lead the middle forward and to help the backward progress. Thus, the spiritual outlook of this group was changed quickly, and many comrades vied with each other for heavy loads, doing things that were their own as well as those which were not their responsibility. A new atmosphere marked by fighting in unity prevailed and struck one's eyes.

The Leading Group Which Maintains Close Ties With the Masses

In pre-cultural revolution days, Liangkung Valve Plant had eight sections and one room. They were over-staffed and each of them went its own way. The workers criticized this phenomenon, saying: "Liangkung is small, but its administrative structure is large. Its manager and deputy managers neither come down to the lower level nor perform any labor. They are pompous and divorce themselves from the masses." The revolutionary committee, born in the cultural revolution, set up a revolutionized leading group capable of maintaining close ties with the masses, and carried out a basic reform of overlapping administrative organs.

Upholding the policy of fewer troops and simpler administration. Acting on Chairman Mao's instruction "the most basic requirement for reform of state organs is to maintain close ties with the masses," the plant's revolutionary committee removed the overlapped administrative organs and, proceeding from actual conditions, simplified the administrative structure of existing sections. Now there are four groups and one room, and these are made to better serve production and the masses. For instance, planning and purchasing formerly belonged to two different sections, which had little communication and cooperation with each other. Sometimes purchases were not made in time to satisfy production needs, and sometimes purchases were made without regard to current needs, resulting in tying up a large amount of capital. Now, planning and purchasing are merged in one production group, and mutual communication and coordination has overcome the past phenomenon of dislocated supply of materials and tying up of funds. Also, the plant's revolutionary committee continues to invite outstanding workers from the first line of production to reinforce the administrative organs and has gradually built up a contingent of managerial and technical personnel with workers as the mainstay. Former office personnel are organized to take part in productive labor, learn from the masses, and change their world outlook. After having undergone tempering and transformation, many office personnel have played a positive role and won the approbation of the worker masses.

Insisting on being good servants of the people. Members of the plant's revolutionary committee keep firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching "all our working cadres, whatever their ranks, are servants of the people." They consciously try to do well both in acting as good servants of the people and in accepting the supervision of the masses. On one occasion, an old cadre of the plant's revolutionary committee who was in charge of production drew up a production plan without consultation with the masses. The plan called for an output which was lower than the actual level of the year before on the ground that one-third of the equipment and work force in the production workshops had been transferred to the interior to help with construction. After learning this, the worker representatives on the plant's revolutionary committee seriously criticized him, saying: "You racked your brain behind close doors and saw things and not people. Was there any difference between the plan you drew up and those before the cultural revolution?" This old cadre accepted the criticism of the worker representatives. He turned over the plan to the worker masses of the whole plant for discussion, in the course of which the workers made quite a number of valuable suggestions. They analyzed the unfavorable factors brought by the reduction in equipment and manpower, but they also took into account the fact that the cultural revolution had greatly aroused the socialist enthusiasm of the workers who had not only raised the slogan of creating conditions to make more contributions to the state but also proposed many measures for resolving contradictions. On the basis of adequate discussion among the masses, the revolutionary committee drew up a new plan calling for a 10 percent increase over the production level of the previous year. Thanks to the vigorous efforts made by the broad masses, the plan was overfulfilled.

Upholding the system of cadre participation in collective productive labor. Before the cultural revolution, the cadres in the plant seldom took part in labor, and when they did, they did it only for show. Now, members of the plant's revolutionary committee have seriously enforced the system of participation in labor. Comrades of the revolutionary committee who are in charge of routine office work participate in labor for no less than a hundred days a year, and in general members of the workshop revolutionary committees remain at their production jobs. There is a member of the plant's revolutionary committee who is concurrently secretary of a workshop Party branch. Busy as he is, he remains at his production job. Once, a furnace of the forging group broke down. Before the furnace cooled off, he crawled into the barrel to carry out emergency repair, thereby assuring quick resumption of production. Praising him, the masses said: "Though his position has changed, his working-class color has not. We can trust such a cadre!" Members of the revolutionary committee who persist in taking part in labor preserve the working-class color, and this not only helps them transform their world outlook but also enables them to hear the voices of the masses and understand in time practical problems encountered in revolution and production. Before the cultural revolution, the labor intensity in the milling group of workshop No. 1 was very high. The workers there urgently demanded technical improvement. But at that time the leaders of the plant didn't consider such a demand seriously because they had no personal experience. After the plant's revolutionary committee was establshed, many committee members often went to the milling group to take part in labor, so they had personal experience and shared the thought of the workers. The plant's revolutionary committee convened a number of meetings to study the problem of technical improvement in the milling group, and mobilized the workers to undertake the technical transformation by themselves. Now, the milling group is equipped with two three-head automatic machine tools and five electric rollers, thus not only reducing labor intensity but also boosting output by many times.

Persisting in investigation and study and changing the style of leadership. Prior to the cultural revolution, many cadres of the plant, acting like high and mighty, sat in the office all day long, often making decisions on the basis of subjective desires and issuing orders on the basis of their imagination. They were divorced from the actual conditions and from the masses. Now, members of the plant's revolutionary committee often go deep into realities and among the masses, securing their right to speak from their investigation and study and changing their style of leadership and methods of work. Workshop No. 4 participated in the construction of a key project, and it was required to complete within a year the task of suppling certain components for 50 units of equipment. After four and a half months, only one unit was completed. It was apparent that failure to complete the task on schedule would affect the general progress of the whole project. Thereupon, the plant's revolutionary committee immediately carried out an investigation in this workshop and analyzed the causes with the masses. The cruz of the problem was quickly identified. The truth was that some cadres in charge of this work relied only on a few persons in doing the job quietly behind closed doors. So, the leaders of the plant helped the cadres of this workshop mobilize the masses freely to tap the potentials of innovation and produce indigenous equipment by themselves, thus fulfilling the task two months ahead of schedule.

The establishment of the revolutionary committee has enabled the leading group of the plant to maintain closer ties with the masses and enhance its fighting capability. Said the worker comrades: "The relationship between the leadinggroup and the masses in our plant is like that between fish and water. Just as fish swim freely in the water, so the leading group which is rooted among the masses can function realistically."

The Role of Revolutionary Committee Brought into Full Play Under Centralized Party Leadership

When the plant set up a new Party committee in July 1969, some comrades said, "Now that the Party committee has been established, the revolutionary committee may 'fold up'." And some worker representatives said: "Our burden has been lightened and our historical task fulfilled. Let's yield our place to others." In view of these ideas, the plant's Party committee organized the cadres and the masses to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's instructions on strengthening Party leadership and building of the reovlutionary committee. This enabled everybody to see that giving full play to the role of the power structure of the revolutionary committee under Party leadership is necessary for consolidating and developing the achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution, an expression of implementation of the Party's mass line in respect to the building of political power. While the Party leads in everything, it does not do everything. If no attention is given to developing the role of the revolutionary committee, if the revolutionary committee is folded up, and if the Party committee is entrusted with everything, big and small, Party leadership may appear to be strengthened, but the Party committee will sink into routinism and cannot achieve the tasks which are entrusted to it, resulting in Party leadership being weakened. Therefore, strengthening Party leadership and giving full play to the role of the revolutionary committee are mutually consistent. With views thus unified through study and discussion, it was profoundly realized that "the establishment of the Party committee does not mean that the burden of the revolutionary committee is reduced, but that under the leadership of the Party, it must even more properly carry out the heavy responsibility in revolution and production."

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. Party leadership is principally leadership of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, leadership of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In strengthening its leadership over the revolutionary committee, the Party Committee of Liangkung Valve Plant has acquired the following principal experiences:

First, organize members of the leading groups of the Party and revolutionary committees to seriously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works, grasp class struggle and criticize revisionism. The consciousness of cadres in respect to class and line struggle and continuing the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship is raised in the course of struggle, as is their initiative in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the course of the struggle to criticize Teng in depth and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, study and criticism throughout

the plant should be conducted jointly by principal responsible comrades of the Party and revolutionary committees according to a unified plan worked out by the plant's Party committee. Decisions and measures concerning the large amounts of daily administrative work should be reached at meetings called by the revolutionary committee. At the same time, the revolutionary committee should regularly report to the Party committee on major problems and seek its advice. In particular, it should turn the more important matters to the leading groups of the Party and revolutionary committees for collective discussion. The Party spirit of members of the revolutionary committee ought to be continually raised so they will consciously accept Party leadership.

Second, giving full play to the role of worker representatives on the reovlutionary committee. The Party committee has great concern for the study and work of worker representatives on the revolutionary committee. It gives them heavy responsibilities and allows them to play their role with a free hand in the three great revolutionary movements so they will enhance their work ability. Through worker representatives on the revolutionary committee, the Party organization should get in touch with the masses, and further strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses.

Third, attaching immense importance to the role of members of the revolutionary committee who remain at their production jobs. The plant's revolutionary committee calls one or two plenary meetings every month with the object of summing up the work of the preceding month and studying and arranging for the tasks of the current month. When major problems crop up, plenary sessions are also called to discuss and handle them. The plant's revolutionary committee also regularly convenes meetings of its members who remain at their production jobs to seriously hear their opinions and demands and care for them politically and ideologically. It periodically organizes them to participate by rotation in the leadership work of various sections, so they may be tempered and trained in practice.

Fourth, continually reinforcing and strengthening the leading group of the revolutionary committee in the course of struggle. Since the revolutionary committee of the plant was established, it has, upholding the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young and in accord with the five requirements set by Chairman Mao concerning training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, selected fine workers that emerged from the three great revolutionary movements and invited them to join the revolutionary committee as a way of injecting new blood to it. Among the 29 members of the plant's revolutionary committee, the oldest is 61 years old, the youngest is 21, and over half are under 35. With new and old cadres working together and learning from each other, the vitality and strength of the entire leading group is assured.

Since its birth, the revolutionary committee of Liangkung Valve Plant has, under centralized Party leadership, played a positive role in both revolution and production. At present, in the midst of the struggle to penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and reuplse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the cadres and masses of

the plant are determined to go on developing and improving this newborn thing -- revolutionary committee, further developing its role in the course of struggle, more properly fulfilling the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through to the grassroots level and carrying the continued revolution through to the end under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

-- Investigation Team of Shanghai
Municipal Revolutionary Committee

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Strive To Portray the Proletariat's Struggle Against Capitalist Roaders

by

Fang Tse-sheng (方澤生)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 5, May 14, 1976)

It has been 27 years since the socialist revolution was launched in our country in 1949. These 27 years have witnessed the fierce struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines as well as the thriving development of socialist revolution and construction in the course of struggle. To reflect the militant life of this period and strive to portray the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and particularly against the Party capitalist roaders is the noble historical mission of socialist literature and art.

A given literature and art is always the product of a given social life as reflected in the minds of writers. What is the most basic substance of social life? Lenin once said: "Class relations -- this is a kind of fundamental and essential thing and without it there will be no Marxism." ("Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (B)") For literature and art to penetratingly depict the militant life of the socialist revolution period, writers should study and grasp the class relations of this period in accordance with the Party's basic line before they can bring out, through artistic images, such class relations and incisively illustrate their changes and development. This is an important hallmark of the breadth and depth of literary and art creation in reflecting life.

With the passing of the democratic revolution into the socialist revolution in our country came the changes in the character, target and tasks of the revolution as well as changes in the class relations. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has grown to become the principal contradiction in society. If the bourgeois democrats who entered the Party during the democratic revolution continue to cling to the stand and world outlook of bourgeois democrats, they will dislike the socialist revolution and even oppose it, turning from being fellow travelers to Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Chairman Mao has recently pointed out with deep insight: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." Chairman Mao's instruction explicitly points out that Party capitalist roaders are the main targets of the socialist revolution and reveals the major changes in class relations during the period of the socialist revolution. This has provided literature and art creation with a powerful ideological weapon for depicting more profoundly the militant life of the socialist revolution period.

The Party capitalist roaders use their power and influence to push the revisionist line and cause the Party and the state to change color. This is the main method whereby the bourgeoisie subverts the dictatorship of the proletariat to restore capitalism during the socialist revolution period. That is why the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the period of the socialist revolution is bound to manifest itself, in a concentrated way, in the proletariat's struggle against capitalist roaders in the Party. This is an important characteristic of the class struggle throughout the historical period of socialism.

The history of the socialist revolution in our country is the history of the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the capitalist roaders in particular. Every advance made by the revolution has been achieved through the struggle against capitalist roaders. The victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao have been won in the course of struggle against capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Striving to create works that portray in depth the struggle waged by the proletariat against capitalist roaders during the period of the socialist revolution, particularly those works that amply and deeply portray and eulogize the great proletarian cultural revolution,is precisely what history calls for.

This inevitable requirement of history has in fact increasingly become the conscious desire of the vast numbers of revolutionary literary and art workers. It is exactly the great proletarian cultural revolution that has tempered and brought forward a new contingent of writers and artists. Coming from the workers and peasants and from the forefront of class struggle, through the baptism of the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they have heightened their understanding of the class relations and class struggle in the period of the socialist revolution. They consciously take the Party's basic line as the guide and study and apply the precious experience of the revolutionary model stage productions, striving to portray from the plane of the class and line struggle the militant life of the workers, peasants and soldiers during the socialist revolution period. Set in motion by the revolutionary model theatrical works, a number of fine works in different art forms, in particular works that depict and eulogize the great cultural revolution, have appeared. Collections of short stories like Prologue and feature films such as "Ch'un Miao," for instance, portray from positive aspects the mighty mass movements during the great proletarian cultural revolution and the struggle waged by the proletariat against the capitalist roaders in the Party. Despite the fact that this is only a beginning, it is indeed a most commendable beginning.

Our revolutionary literary and art workers by and large hope their works will reflect the great socialist era and that they can write in greater depth. The creation and revision of the feature film "The Second Spring" is a fine example. The writer went through the great cultural revolution and reread the old 1965 script. He said he "is grossly dissatisfied with it" and "find it uninspiring." Although the old draft also praises Chairman Mao's revolutionary line of maintaining independence and keeping the

initiative in our own hands and achieving rejuvenation through self-reliance, it is insufficient and not penetrating in revealing the two-line struggle within the Party. In handling the relations between characters and the developing contradictions and conflicts, Liu Tzu-yin, the designer, is in fact placed in the central position, leaving the contradictions between Liu and the factory manager, the chief engineer and the director of the research center far behind the two-line struggle within the Party and far removed from the higher and broader political and historical settings. For this reason, the writer proceeds from the present-day ideological plane and reappraises and comprehends the round of struggle as depicted in the work in the course of building China's navy in the early 1960's. By placing this round of battle in the "typical setting" of the anti-revisionist struggle at home and abroad at that time and depicting in a concentrated way the two-line struggle within the Party with the conflict between Feng T'ao, the trade union's Party committee secretary and the central figure, and Ch'i Ta-t'ung, the factory manager, as the main thread, the ideological context of the work is thus considerably improved.

Works that strive to portray in greater depth the class and line struggle in the socialist revolution period, such as "The Second Spring," have appeared in increasing numbers. Particularly noteworthy are works like the short story "The Golden Bell Keeps Ringing" that depicts the continuation under new circumstances of the class and line struggle following the upsurge of the great cultural revolution and how it sensitively touches on the objective law of class struggle throughout the historical period of socialism -- the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road. This brings the theme of the work into sharper focus. These works without exception illustrate the proletariat's struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party and they all strive to reveal the essence of this struggle as the antagonism between the two lines and two types of world outlook. Furthermore, in revealing the class nature of capitalist roaders in the course of the antagonisms and struggle and in projecting the towering images of proletarian heroes, these works show their profound depths, a factor which accounts for their success.

Examining these works by the yardstick of our great era, we naturally find obvious gaps. In particular, there is still a lack of appropriate breadth and depth in works that depict the proletariat's struggle against capitalist roaders in the Party in the socialist revolution period. This is partly due to inexperience but it is largely because we lack a profound understanding of the changes and development of class relations during the period of the socialist revolution as well as the characteristics and laws of the class and line struggle in this period. It is therefore necessary to continuously raise and deepen our understanding.

As far as the matter of portraying the images of capitalist roaders is concerned, existing works depict different categories of capitalist roaders. Of the two major categories, one group comprises renegades, secret agents and alien class elements that sneaked into the Party, with the other group consisting of "good people who made the mistakes of capitalist

roaders." Identified with the first category is Ting Chih-ch'in in "Flying Snow Greets the Spring" and identified with the second group are Pai Hsien-chou in "The Fiery Years," Ch'i Ta-t'ung of "The Second Spring," Chao P'ing of "On the Deck of a Warship," and P'an Po-hsiang of "Chuangshu-chuan." It is quite appropriate to write about these typical capitalist roaders and depicting them well is also fraught with educational significance. The question lies in how to write about them in greater depth. Take the image of Pai Hsien-chou as an example. The portrayal is in the main successful and the film version is rather penetrating in exposing his erroneous behavior. However, what makes "an old comrade who has weathered and been tempered in gun battles" the way he is? The film gives the audience the impression that he has been deluded by a counter-revolutionary element because he "takes production as the key link instead of the general line." But why has Pai Hsien-chou failed to take the general line as the key link? Why is he close to the bourgeois elements and mindful of what they say and yet he makes a point of keeping away from Chao Ssu-hai and the workers? The film makes no attempt to further dissect Pai's bourgeois world outlook, nor does it reveal the political and ideological and class origins of Pai becoming a capitalist roader to push the revisionist line. This omission has thus affected the film's ideological depth.

Compared with "The Fiery Years," the film "Ch'un Miao" is somewhat more penetrating in molding the image of Tu Wen-chieh, a capitalist roader. Instead of confining to the revelation of Tu's misdeeds, the film touches on the depths of his soul and his obsession with the bourgeois kingdom and on bourgeois rights, the basis for engendering capitalist roaders and insuring their existence. Doing everything possible to uphold and extend bourgeois rights is a matter of paramount importance that characterizes the capitalist roaders in the Party. Grasping this is to get hold of what is crucial to the capitalist roaders. Tu Wen-chieh is likened to a new poisonous weed that has grown from the old soil of capitalism. What appears inadequate is that while the film touches on this fundamental issue it makes no further attempt to reveal it more fully and more penetratingly.

Some works often depict the capitalist roaders as "made up of two halves," that is, everything they did was fine during the democratic revolution period but they stop going forward in the socialist revolution period, falling behind and moving backward. As a matter of fact, the reason why these people fail to pass the test of socialism is that deep in the depths of their souls there is still a bourgeois kingdom. Essentially they are just bourgeois democrats who have sneaked into the Party. As early as in his "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" ("Talks"), Chairman Mao incisively criticized those bourgeois democrats who clung to the bourgeois stand and world outlook and were reluctant to integrate with the worker and peasant masses. Although they joined the Party organizationally they hadn't done so ideologically. "They have no idea at all of what is proletarian ideology, what is bourgeois ideology and what is the Party." ("Talks") However, they always insisted on expressing themselves and wanted to transform the Party and the world according to the bourgeois world outlook. Therefore, even during the democratic revolution period it was inevitable for the bourgeois democrats who sneaked into the Party to struggle against

the proletariat. With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. That is why they spring out to oppose the revolution and become Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. This is an important law of class struggle. In this sense, portraying the typical images of bourgeois democrats passing into capitalist roaders is of great significance.

In depicting the typical images of capitalist roaders, we should also study the law of movements of capitalist roaders and study their counter-revolutionary stratagems. As a teacher by negative example, Teng Hsiao-p'ing deserves our study. He concedes defeat when things get hot, but reverses the verdict when the storm is over. When the moment for a counter-revolutionary restoration was not ripe, he would wave a red flag to oppose the red flag and prepare counter-revolutionary public opinion with eclectic sophistries. When he was blinded by personal gain and thought the moment had come, he would go into close combat and launch full-scale attacks on the proletariat. When the revolutionary mass movement surged forward, he would take over the revolutionary slogans and distort the truth to make it look like a fallacy. And when our Party adjusted its policies to consolidate and develop the fruits of victory, he would wait for an opportunity to counter-attack in retaliation, dish out his counter-revolutionary political program and stir up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. The capitalist roaders are of course of different types and their performances and counter-revolutionary stratagems vary at different periods. Despite their changing tactics, however, they always follow certain rules. In bringing out this underlying pattern, it is possible to better typify the images of capitalist roaders portrayed in works of literature and art.

As far as the creation of socialist literature and art is concerned, depicting the negative images of capitalist roaders is in the service of better portraying and projecting the images of proletarian heroes. Its role can only be secondary in literary works. The fundamental task of creating socialist literature and art is to use every possible means to mold the images of proletarian heroes with the same ardor displayed in the revolutionary model stage productions. Occupying the center of the socialist literary and art stage can only be the proletariat, not the bourgeoisie. This is a question of principle regarding the exercise of dictatorship by which class in the realm of literature and art.

In depicting the proletariat's struggle against capitalist roaders, we must appropriately handle the relationship between eulogy and exposure and between the bright and dark aspects. This has been made clear by Chairman Mao in his "Talks." Socialist literature and art have nothing to do with the so-called "literature of exposure" of the bourgeoisie. While we should naturally expose the bourgeoisie and the capitalist roaders in the Party, doing so is to assert the revolutionary justice of the proletariat and inspire the masses of the people to struggle against them with one heart and one purpose. It is to consolidate and strengthen the proletariat's all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and not something to the contrary. In the "Talks," Chairman Mao's penetrating criticism of the

fallacy of attaching equal importance to writing about the bright and dark aspects is still fraught with immense significance today. If this question is turned upside down, we will go astray.

To appropriately portray the proletariat's struggle against capitalist roaders, the key lies in the study and application of the valuable experience gained by the revolutionary model stage productions in molding the heroic image of the proletariat. The dialectics of class struggle is this: the existence of capitalist roaders in the Party inevitably produces their opposite, that is, proletarian heroes who dare to wage resolute and uncompromising struggles against capitalist roaders. Heroes of this type appeared in large numbers in the past and will appear today and in the future. Our writers and artists have the obligation to write about and praise them. What Marxism describes as the typical images in a typical setting is, in relation to themes that reflect the socialist revolution, to mold the heroic images of the proletarian revolutionaries, to portray the heroic images of those who continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and adhere to the Party's basic line in the course of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines and in the formidable and tortuous struggle against capitalist roaders.

We have seen many of these heroic images on both the screen and the stage and in literary works, heroes or heroines like Ch'un Miao, Lung Kuo-cheng, Feng T'ao, Chao Ssu-hai, Lei Hai-sheng, Kuo Tzu-k'un, etc. They are familiar to all. They include veteran cadres who have long been tested and tempered in the revolution and who persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, new cadres who have taken up leading posts in the course of struggle during the great cultural revolution, as well as a large number of advanced and communist-minded workers, peasants and fighters who are in the forefront of the socialist revolution. In molding these heroic images, the writers strive to give prominence to their heightened consciousness of the class and line struggle and awareness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This consciousness has in turn manifested itself in their sober understanding of the class and line struggle during the socialist period and of capitalist roaders in the Party.

Is this knowledge inherent in their minds? No. T'ien Ch'un-miao of the film "Ch'un Miao," an innocent country lass, goes through a course in understanding the capitalist roader Tu Wen-chieh. Kuo Tzu-k'un of the novel "Morning in Early Spring," a politically mature vanguard fighter of the proletariat, similarly goes through a course in understanding the capitalist roaders and the characteristics and laws of their counter-revolutionary activities. This kind of understanding likewise takes shape, step by step, in the course of struggle against the capitalist roaders.

For all of us, the socialist revolution, and especially the great proletarian cultural revolution, is a new and great practice in class struggle. In understanding the character, target, tasks and future of the

socialist revolution, everybody goes through the course of gradually raising and deepening his understanding in the practice of struggle. Since the class and line struggle is in itself developing and deepening, our understanding cannot be accomplished at one stroke. The reason why heroic characters have become heroes is not that they are persons with foresight but that they are in the forefront of the struggle of the times and know how to set the masses in motion and lead them to accomplish the tasks put forward by history. Kuo Tzu-k'un is an example. He is not a born hero but an advanced element of the proletariat that has emerged from the torrent of the great cultural revolution. He of course has not experienced such a revolution before, and a host of concrete contradictions appeared before him, new problems that he has not faced before. Since he is ahead of others in sensing and recognizing these problems and in coming into grips with them, he is able to resolve these problems in a more timely and efficient manner. Why is he able to do so? Because he is good at studying and pondering problems in the course of struggle and in summing up both the positive and negative aspects of experience and lessons. While these are important reasons, the most fundamental reason is that he has the guidance and education of our great Party and the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

How to express the Party's leadership role in depicting the proletariat's struggle against capitalist roaders and molding the heroic images of the proletariat that are capable of battling against capitalist roaders poses an important question in literary and art creation. Continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is undertaken under the leadership of the Party. It is a struggle waged by the broad masses of people led by the Party and Chairman Mao against capitalist roaders. The leaders that have emerged from the mass movements have all grown up under the education of the Party. Many of them are leading Party cadres and Party workers. It is impossible to generate spontaneously a vanguard fighter of the proletariat who is highly conscious of the class and line struggle. It is inconceivable that without the leadership of the Party and the education of actual struggles they can achieve a flying leap in their world outlook from spontaneous to conscious development. Only under the leadership of the Party and by adhering to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line can the mass movements be shifted onto the track of proletarian revolution. The experience of the great proletarian cultural revolution has testified to this. Isn't Kuo Tzu-k'un a proletarian fighter nurtured by the Party? As a worker, it is impossible for Marxism to grow in his head. His Marxist world outlook can only be fostered through the Party's education. We of course do not suggest that every work should express this process of inculcation. Embodying Party leadership in a work is determined by the theme, subject matter and characters that go into the work. However, the need to give expression to Party leadership in depicting the class and line struggle is a principle universally applicable to all works. In "Morning in Early Spring," recognition is not withheld from Party leadership because Kuo Tzu-k'un is in the heat of the great cultural revoluiton and the Party organization to which he belongs ceases functioning. What we mean by Party leadership refers in the final analysis to the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, that is, the leadership of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the leadership of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

From the novel "Morning in Early Spring," we clearly feel the leadership given by our great Party, our great leader Chairman Mao, to the great revolution and to Kuo Tzu-k'un so he knows the direction for his advance, the leadership that is the source of his wisdom and strength. Kuo himself clearly expresses this when he says: "The Party banner is our life."

The question of avoiding repetition is ever present whether we mold the heroic images of the proletariat or depict the negative images of capitalist roaders. That similarities have appeared in literary and art creation is mainly due to the writers' lack of experience in life and a deep understanding of life, and as a result they are unable to "create different types of characters on the basis of real life." ("Talks") They are unable to achieve a dialectical unity between universality and individuality. Practical life is rich and colorful. As long as we adhere to the Party's basic line, persist in going among the worker-peasant-soldier masses and achieve something that is derived from life but is higher than life, we will avoid repetitions.

Experience in the production of numerous fine works shows that although it is quite difficult to depict the subject matter dealing with the proletariat's struggle against capitalist roaders, effort made will surely pay off. The crux of the matter lies in the writer himself and in his willingness to become a fighter in this great struggle, a struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. As Lu Hsün rightly said, "If one is not in the center of the vortex, what he feels will be unavoidably superficial and therefore what he writes about will not be good." It is necessary to study Marxism-Leninism through struggle and strengthen the remolding of one's world outlook. This means that a writer's world outlook should undergo a transformation from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. If our thoughts still remain in the democratic revolution period, it is certain that we will not be able to write well about the subject matter dealing with the democratic revolution, let alone correctly and penetratingly reflect the great era of socialism.

In the "May 16 Circular" ten years ago, Chairman Mao clearly called for "the proletarian dictatorship in the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture." Promoting literary and art creation that portrays and eulogizes the socialist revolution and depicts the struggle whereby "the proletariat continues to purge the representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Communist Party to wave a red flag to oppose the red flag" is to further consolidate and strengthen the proletarian all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the sphere of literature and art. Therefore, this is not just a question of subject matter but one of line. On this question the struggle between Marxism and revisionism has always existed. In 1963 Comrade K'o Ch'ing-shih, on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for literature and art, called for writing about the 13 years, that is, portraying the socialist revolution and socialist construction. However, this correct view was at that time suppressed by the black line that pervaded literature and art. The fighting course of the revolution in Peking opera was all the more filled with the soul-stirring struggle between the two classes,

two roads and two lines. The revolutionary model stage productions that emerged from the struggle penetratingly portray the magnificent epic of how the Chinese working class and people, led by the Party and Chairman Mao, passed from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, unfolding not only the historical scrolls of revolutionary war but also the grand vision of socialist revolution and construction. The arch unrepentant Party capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing madly resents and opposes the revolutionary model theatrical works because they set a brilliant example for the socialist revolution in literature and art. Revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the revolutionary model stage productions, keep in step with the march of the time, more penetratingly depict the militant life of the socialist revolution period and thus serve in a better way the economic base of socialism and proletarian politics. We strongly believe that under the impetus of the struggle to focus criticism on Teng and to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, more and better works praising the socialist revolution and the great cultural revolution and portraying the proletariat's struggle against capitalist roaders will appear.

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Refute the Soviet Revisionists' So-Called "Geographic Discovery"

- Concerning the question of discovery of the source of the Yellow River

by

Shih Tai-shih (石隶实)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 4, April 14, 1976)

The Yellow River is a symbol of the Chinese nation, the pride of the Chinese people. The long river has its source on the faraway northern slopes of the Bayan Kara Mountains, from which it flows thousands of li ceaselessly to the boundless sea. The broad and fertile basin was the cradle of the Chinese nation, the mecca of our ancient civilization.

But there is a group of people in a certain country who link the Yellow River with "the glory of (their) motherland." How preposterous and ridiculous that is! In the year before last, two Soviet revisionist magazines, Nature and Spark, each carried an astonishing article,* which claimed nonsensically that the area from which the Yellow River sprang was discovered in 1884 by their ancestor -- Przhevalski, an officer of the tsarist Russian army. According to them, with "this important geographic discovery," the area from the Pamirs to the source of the Yellow River "was no longer a blank spot" on the map. The Chinese people ought to thank this "ski" because they have been able to know the source of the River owing to his "discovery."

Unfortunately, however, Przhevalski's "discovery" is something already known long ago by the Chinese people and cannot be called a new discovery by any means. To say that the earliest discoverer of the source of the Yellow River was a Russian of the late 19th century instead of the Chinese people who were intimately connected with the river is the biggest of all lies.

Ironlike historical facts cannot be hacked away even with an axe. From time immemorial the ancestors of the Chinese nation who labored, lived and multiplied all along the great river already began to know, change and protect the course of Yellow River, which was called merely the "River" in ancient times. Records of the "River" were found in inscriptions on oracle bones and tortoise shells of Shang and Yin times. The earliest record of the source of the Yellow River dated back to the time of the Warring States. In Yü Kung there is a reference to "leading the River from Chishih," indicating that Yellow River flowed from the direction of

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* "Letters Written on the Way" and "For the Glory of the Motherland."

the Chishih Mountain. In "Hsishan Ching, Shanhai Ching" there was another reference, "Out of the foothills of the K'unlun,...comes the waters of the River," holding that the tall K'unlun Mountains west of the Chishih Mountain was the mecca of the Yellow River. These records reflect people's knowledge of the source of the river before the Warring States.

Following the formation of a multi-national, feudal, wholly unified country in Ch'in and Han times, another forward step was taken in the exploration of the source of the river. During the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, " the Han envoy traced the River to its source."* This shows that our people already attached the utmost importance to the question of the source of the River and moreover were carrying out investigations of the source at that time, which was nearly 2,000 years earlier than Przhevalski's so-called "survey." In Han times our people already knew that the Yellow River had its source in an area inhabited by the Chiang nationality (ancestors of today's Tibetans), that in its upper reaches the river flowed from the southwest toward the northeast,** and that the distance from the bend of the Yellow River north of the Chishih Mountain to the source of the river was 1,000 li.+ All this is correct.

In 609 A.D. (the 5th year of Tayeh of the Sui Dynasty) the prefectur "Hsihai" and "Hoyuan" were established in an area in the present Chinghai, and the Hoyuan /source of the river/ area became part of the domain of Sui. By T'ang times, knowledge of the source of the River advanced a big leap forward. In 635 A.D. (the 9th year of Chenkuan) T'ang generals Li Ching, Hou Chun-chi attacked T'u-ku-hun in two prongs. They went deep into the heart Chinghai, "viewed the source of the River,"++ and made field observations. Not long afterward, the T'ufans of the Chinghai-Tibet plateau established close political, economic and cultural relations with the T'ang court and imbibed a great amount of the advanced civilization of the Hans. Communications between the two nationalities increased in frequency and the Hoyuan area became a communications hub of friendly exchanges between the

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* "Book of Han: Biography of Chang Ch'ien."

** "Book of Han: Geographic Notes" records in Hokuan county, Chinch'eng Prefecture: "The Chishih Mountain is in Chiangchung in the southwest. The waters of the River flow outside the northern frontier, enter the frontier in the northeast, and flow into the sea at Changwu."

\+ "Book of Latter Han: History of Hsi Chiang" records that Hsi Chiang "borde on Tz'uchih and extends to Hoshou, covering an area of 1,000 li of land." The Tz'uchih River was the Chechih River, meaning that section of the Yello River north of the Chishih Mountain where it bended.

++ "New Book of T'ang: History of T'ukuhun," Tzu Chih T'ung Chien, Vol. 194, the 9th year of Chenkuan, and others.

fraternal nationalities of the Hans and Tibetans. As a result, the question of the source of the River attracted much attention and interest, and ample data were accumulated about it. During the reign of Emperor Te-tsung of T'ang, Prime Minister Chia Tan wrote a specialized geographical work on the Hoyuan area called "T'ufan Yellow River Records." Unfortunately nothing is left of the work now. Detailed descriptions of the Hoyuan area of T'ang times which we can still read were knowledge brought back by Liu Yuan-ting in 822 A.D. (the 2nd year of Ch'ang-ch'ing) from his mission to the T'ufans. These are seen in the new and old "Book of T'ang: History of the T'ufans." According to these records, the Yellow River had its source in the "Tzu Mountain," which the T'ufans called "Men-mo-li Mountain." This name was translated into "Mo-pi-li Mountain" in Ming times, and today it becomes Bayan Kara Mountains.* By then the vague concept that "the River came from K'unlun" was replaced by the practical knowledge that the river had its source on the Bayan Kara Mountains.

In the face of this ironlike historical fact, the Soviet revisionist lords refuse to recognize it. They spread such lies as the area of the source of the river "was never visited by man," "it was unknown to mankind for generations," etc. These not only reveal their ignorance, but also show them to be extremely and wildly preposterous. In their eyes, all the investigations made in Han and T'ang times did not count, and only Przhevalski was the "first surveyor" who "opened a new era" in the history of geography. Does this agree with the facts? No. True, there was no specialized scientific surveying from the geographical angle in T'ang times to determine the geographic position of the proper source of the Yellow River, but nobody can deny that the area of the source was already clearly known. Even the first formal geographic survey and study were definitely not carried out by a Russian at the end of the 19th century, for the Chinese had already begun to do so as early as the 13th century. Please continue to look at the historical facts.

In 1280 A.D. (the 17th year of Chih-yüan) the Yüan government sent a man named Tu Shih "to seek the source of the River." Tu Shih and his party started from Hochou (now Linhsia city of Kansu) and arrived at "the source of the River" four months later. They made a detailed investigation of the configuration of the land and the climate, fauna and flora of the area. This was the first large-scale field survey of the source of the river in our history. The result of the survey is seen in "Yüan History: Geographic Descriptions, Appendix on Source of River" and other works.

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* Imperial Approval of Brief Record of the River Source, Vol. XVIII. Ts'en Chung-mien in his History of Changes of the Yellow River said that the Men-mo-li Mountain "according to changes in the spoken word, could be a variant of Mo-pi-li."

After this investigation and as a result of the availability of some maps and data of the Tibetan region, knowledge of the source of the river reached a quite accurate degree. For example, it was already known that there was a Hsing Su Sea in the river source area, "about 70 or 80 square li, that higher up there was a river more than 100 li long which was the proper source of the Yellow River, and that at the head of the source "water gushes out from the ground like wells, and these wells number more than a hundred."* This knowledge agrees completely with today's situation of the proper source of the river, where there are many large and small reservoirs in the upper source area of the Yüehkutsunglieh Canal. It may be seen from this that knowledge of the source of the river already entered a new era in Yüan times, more than 600 years earlier than Przhevalski's so-called "new era."

In the early 18th century the Manchu government again made a field investigation of the source of the river. In 1704 A.D. (the 43rd year of K'ang Hsi) imperial guards La Hsi, Shu Lan and others went to Hsing Su Sea, and climbed heights to observe "the source of the Hsing Su Sea" and its surrounding hills. Upon their return they described in detail the course of the flow of the three main sources of the Yellow River.** Subsequently the Manchu government sent out survey teams on many occasions "to trace the River to its source, survey the land, and draw a map. Everything around the source of the river--every single hill and stream--and the course and distance of flow of that part of the River were recorded. These records are more detailed than those made in Yüan times."+ In Complete Map of the Empire, drawn and made in the final years of K'ang Hsi, the part showing the source of the River was based on data obtained in these surveys. This is the earliest map which shows more or less correctly the source of the River and which is still available to us today. Later in 1761 (the 26th year of Ch'ien Lung) Ch'i Chao-nan wrote Outline of Waterways, which contained a detailed description of the hills and streams in the source area and indicated the latitude and longitude of the headwaters. The description basically agreed with the condition of the source today.++

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* See "History of Yüan: Geographic Notes: Appendix on the River Source." The appendix was written on the basis of descriptions by P'an Ang-hsiao and Chu Ssu-pen. P'an Ang-hsiao wrote Notes on the Source of the River in 1315 on the basis of a narrative by K'uo K'uo Ch'u, a younger brother of Tu Shih. Chu Ssu-pen (1273-1333) based his work on maps and books in Sanskrit in the family collection of Pa-li-chi-ssu.

** K'ang Hsi East China Records, Vol. XV.

\+ History of Unification of Ta Ch'ing, Chia Ch'ing Revised Edition, entry on the Yellow River of Olut'e Mountains and Rivers in Chinghai, Vol. 546.

++ Outline of Waterways, Vol. V.

Soviet revisionist lords, let us ask you this: What is the basis of your preposterous claim that the area of the river source was still a "blank spot" on the map at the end of the 19th century? What does it show except that your knowledge of Chinese history and geography is nil? Your ignorance is all right if you admit it honestly. But why put the crown of laurel of "the first surveyor" on the head of an old tsarist military officer and loudly proclaim his so-called "geographical discovery"? The truth is that you have ulterior motives. Anybody who has a smattering of modern world history will know that so-called "geographical discoveries" are the business of colonial gangsters. Having forcibly entered other people's homeland, these gangsters not only killed, burned and looted, but also pointed their fingers here and there, declared that these regions were their "discovery," and arbitrarily proclaimed their ownership of these territories. Is that not what the old tsar did in his "investigation" of the source area of the Yellow River? Having "investigated" the two large lakes of Chaling and Oling in the upper reaches of the Yellor River, Przhevalski "named one of them 'Russian Lake' and the other 'Explorers Lake' on the basis of his right as the first surveyor." By reviewing this claim today, the Soviet revisionist lords have exposed the wolfish ambitions of expansionism of the new tsars.

What a "right of the first surveyor!" The two large lakes of Chaling and Oling were not discovered by that "ski" at all. More than 1,200 years before this man came on the scene, i.e., in the 9th year of Chenkuan of T'ang, famed generals Li Ching, Hou Chun-chi and others already "came to Pai Hai."* Research shows that "Pai Hai" is today's two lakes of Chaling and Oling. This is the first reliable record of the two lakes of the upper source of the Yellow River. The last record of the official names of "Chaling" and "Oling" is seen in History of Unification of Great Ch'ing /Manchu/, which quoted from Modern Interpretation of Geography of Shu Ching" by Yen Jo-chü (1636-1704), and Yen based his book on findings made in the late Ming and early Manchu times at the latest. A little later, Ch'i Chao-nan in his Outline of Waterways vividly described the two lakes with regard to their size, shape and color, a description that is still completely true today. Obviously the description was a result of field investigations. So, Przhevalski's wild claim that he was "the first surveyor" was only bragging. If he could claim his "right" in this way, then would not any foreigner who visited the source of the Volga have the right to claim that he was the discoverer of the source of the river? Obviously such a "right" can only be the "right" of gangsters and imperialist aggressors.

To prove their so-called "right of the first surveyor," the Soviet revisionist lords falsely claim that the Chinese people have always maintained the view of "re-emergence of source from underground flow" with regard to

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* Ts'e Fu Yuan Kuei, Vol. 985.

the source of the River. This is another deliberate distortion of history. True, the theory of "re-emergence of source from underground flow" was held to be true in our country in ancient times. This theory held that water from east of Ts'ungling (now the Pamirs plateau) poured into Yentse (now Lop Nor), then went underground, flowed southward and re-emerged as the Yellow River. This incorrect theory, formed under limitations of historical conditions, was negated in the last years of Eastern Han.* During the reigns of Chenkuan and Ch'ang-ch'ing of T'ang, several missions were sent to the source area of the River, as a result of which the question regarding the River source was in general settled. The theory of "re-emergence of source from underground flow" was practically overthrown. Moreover, some people made systematic refutation of and arguments against it, the most outstanding one of them being Tu Yu.** In Sung times some people pointed out the "complete untruth" of the view that the source of the River came from Hsi Yü /western frontier regions/.*** The results of repeated field surveys of the source of the River made from Yüan to Ch'ing even more effectively negated the theory of "re-emergence of source from underground flow." This is the mainstream of the knowledge of the source of the River. For many generations after the Eastern Han, some pedantic Confucian scholars tenaciously embraced the theory of "re-emergence of source" as a dogma. They were only a mistaken group who could not represent the level of the people's knowledge in any way. Everybody knows that even today some people still believe devoutly that man was made by God. Can it be said that this represents the level of scientific knowledge of the origin of man? By lowering the level of China's ancient knowledge of the source of the River with the long discarded theory of "re-emergence of source from underground flow," the Soviet revisionist lords have only revealed their hostility torward the Chinese people.

It is now quite clear what the Soviet revisionist lords really want to do by calling forth the departed spirit of one Przhevalski from the musty archives of the old tsars and fabricating the myth of his "discovery" of the source of the Yellow River. Do they not yell madly for the "reappearance before our eyes of the atmosphere of the old days"? Attention! "The old days" means the last years of the 19th century and "atmosphere" refers to the furious tide of partition of the world by the imperialist powers, with China as the last big piece of juicy meet. All colonial gangsters, their minds set avidly on China, sent "exploration teams" to the frontier regions and the the hinterland of our country to carry out so-called "exploration" activities and create excuses for their partitioning of China. Tsarist Russia was the most eager of these powers, and Przhevalski was the greatest colonial "explorer" sent to our country by the old tsar. Holding the banner of

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* See "Book of Han: Biography of Chang Ch'ien," a quote from notes by Shih Ku

** See T'ung Tien, Vol. 174.

*** Yü Ti Kuang Chi, Vol. 16.

"scientific" investigation, he "actively carried out the Tsar's wishes," serving the tsarist Russian policy of aggressive expansion "really to the utmost of his ability." The tsarist Russian chief of general staff took a direct part in Przhevalski's "exploration" activities, making available to him armed personnel and supplying him with arms, ammunition and instruments. The tsarist Russian embassy in China also closely cooperated with him. Thus the so-called "exploration" activities of Przhevalski were in fact an integral part of the old tsar's crime of aggression against China. Without mincing his words, he once declared that he would "repeat" in China Cortez's conquest of Latin America, that he would "develop" the area he had surveyed. He not only named Lake Chaling and Lake Oling in the source area the "Russian Lake" and "Explorers Lake" respectively, but even more impudently named China's Han-t'eng-ko-li Peak "Liberator Tsar Peak," vividly betraying the robbers's character of this vanguard of tsarist Russia's aggression against China. More than 90 years have elapsed, but the Soviet revisionists still openly praise "the magnificent achievements" of Przhevalski. This shows that today's new tsars have completely inherited the mantle of the old tsars. They will never abandon their "right" of aggression nor give up their hope to conquer China. They are dreaming day and night of a "reappearance" of the "atmosphere" of the old tsars' aggression against China in the old days.

But times have changed. The Chinese people have stood up. Gone are the days when imperialists could do what they liked in China in a domineering manner. If the new tsars really want to "share the sorrows and joys of the fate of the exploration teams" of the old tsars, then the same fate that the old tsars met will be waiting for them.

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